[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.] seem in their essential principles to differ irrecontions of which the history of the world affords any intelligence. They are indeed real Democracy. There all men stand upon an equal footing before the law, and this is all I claim by equality. I know that nature has implanted in man different degrees of intelligence, different degrees or moral character, and different degrees in every respect; but before the law they are all equal. We repudiate the idea of Slavery. We stand on a certain occasion when the word "Liberty" was loved. It reminds me of the speech of Cicero, Congress, to favor the institution of Slavery at all, much less a power to extend it a single inch.

Slavery was regarded as a State institution reasonable as to demand the immediate and un-conditional emancipation of Slavery in those States where it has grown up by prescription— where it has moulded the habits, the character, and the institutions, of the people. I see, and know, and feel, the difficulties as plainly and as strongly as any man. I know you cannot do it at once; but I know that, if you feel as those who framed our Constitution felt, you will not believe that it is an institution which should be cherished, fostered, and upheld; you will not believe that it should be eternal; but you will be willing to look at it as a temporary evil, to be got rid of just as soon as circumstances will admit. If I tion, you would find no man more lenient in judgment on your course than myself. I perceive the difficulty. I would leave it entirely with yourselves to prescribe the mode, to fix the manner, and the time, when an end should be put to it. But what do we see?

Now, you say that it is a divine institution. Not only is it to exist where it has been imposed on the people by long prescription, but, being a godlike institution, fraught with blessings and benefit to mankind, it is to be spread all over this that it shall not be spread another inch with their approbation and consent. This is the great issue between us. If advocacy of this doctrine constitutes an Abolitionist, I am one. If it does not constitute an Abolitionist, I am not one. I am not choice in the use of terms; I care little for names; I care less for what men may say of me; but I wish to be understood precisely as I mean. I grant you full power and jurisdiction to dispos this matter as you see fit, in your own States, hoping that, as just men, you will view it, as do, to be a temporary evil, to be got rid of a soon as possible; but whether you so regard it or not deal with it as you see fit, in your own however, you undertake to extend it into territory now free, I must meet you; and on this issue the North will meet you. Is this Abolitionism I believe it marks strongly the character of those whom you call Black Republicans. I cannot de-fend them against the charge, nor do I wish to

if this be the criterion of the judgment. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Thompson] asked us yesterday what we meant by the slave power? He looked around with an air of triumph, as if he had found a slang phrase which really meant nothing. He asked us to define what we meant by the "slave power" which he heard so much talk of. He explained it himself in the next breath, for he went on to tell us that in the slave States not one fifth of the white inhabitants own slaves. If he had said one tenth. he would have been nearer right; but, taking his own admission, not more than one fifth of the entire free population of the Southern States have any interest in the institution of Slavery. What

do so; for I am one of the blackest of the black.

I mean that power which reigns and domineers which makes it perilous even for you, men of the South, to go home and proclaim the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, though you may believe in those doctrines in your hearts. You dare not do it. I do not blame you, for the fact is that one fifth have triumphed over all the shall say and do on the subject. The South is not a free country. The policy of this slave nent ever since its foundation, and it always sir, is the slave power, and it is felt in every corner of the Republic. Gentlemen frequently talk to me as if I were interfering in a result.

interfering in a matter that does not concern me of all things in the world I deprecate the idea of intermeddling in other people's business. I have some interest in this question. Notwithstanding you say that you will resist all attempts to agi tate certain subjects, the Constitution of the United States gives me the right to go into any else in Virginia, or any other Southern State, and there speak for Freedom as boldly as I intend to do here to-day, and with the same impunity. The fathers of the Republic were willing that any man should propagate any doctrine in which he believed, leaving the judgment to the people to correct him if he was wrong. How is the practice in point of fact? You frequently say that you are a law-abiding and constitution ous for me to go into your States and declare what, before God, I believe to be true upon this subject of Slavery, than it would be to proclaim Red Republicanism in St. Petersburgh. You know it, and yet you talk of the Constitution and the constitutional rights of the South, while you deprive us of the plainest and most sacred

Why, sir, a Northern man can hardly go with safety into the South to transact business entirely collateral to the question of Slavery. I know gentleman from Ohio who went into South Carestate, not at all connected with Slavery. When he got there, he was told that it was understood he was an Abolitionist, as all men who entertain in the town until his business could be transacted. coat of tar and feathers, or something worse. This is the law-abiding conduct of which some gentlemen talk so much and so loudly! I proclaim here, boldly, that in my judgment there is not the semblance of Liberty in the Southern States—no more for the man living there than for me. I judge so from this circumstance, that the me extreme and outrageous measure in regard to this subject by the most violent men are never rebuked there, although there must be in that section, as in others, men of judgment and discretion, lovers of Liberty, Justice, and Right. If a proposition is made of the most extreme and violent charac-ter, involving the greatest outrage on the rights of men, you do not hear the voice of wisdom and justice saying, "Friends, you are going too far." No man can say this, for the reason that, if he did tionist. Any man who should undertake to moderate their zeal against what they call Aboli tionism, would be deemed an Abolitionist himself, and would stand about the same chance that reactionist did during the French Revolution.

I take no pleasure in proclaiming these things although I believe them to be true. From the accumulated evidence which I receive on this subject from every quarter, I cannot doubt for one moment that the people of the South are laboring under one of the most accursed despotisms that ever settled down upon mankind, involving not only themselves, but citizens of other States, who have the right under the Constitution to go there. Still, I am to be blamed, as one who interfered with other men's business, because I stand here to inveigh against this state of things, and declare Constitution are a mere rope of sand. When I invoke that Constitution for the protection of my right to speak, publish, and print, whatever I see fit, you meet me with a coat of tar and feathers,

the agitation against what you call Abolitionism, and hence they are in a kind of political purgation against what you call Abolitionism, and hence they are in a kind of political purgation of the control of the property o

If there be a man here who believes so, let him speak, for him have I offended. Sir, there is no such man. The Constitution has nothing to do with the rights of Northern men in your Souther

We repudiate the idea of Slavery. We stand on a certain occasion, when, in the degenerate upon the Declaration of Independence, which met days of old Rome, the same idea crossed his the approbation of the men who moulded our great mind. He spoke of Liberty, how once revered and loved by the Roman people, but now (said he) trampled down. How is it here to-day? of this, and of nothing more. I have already said, (said he) trampled down. How is it here to-day?

I am not a setter-forth of new doctrines. I ask How is it with the great Democratic party, and no man to go further than the fathers of our Constitution have gone. Within the pale of the United States, I claim that all is Freedom. No power is conferred, and none was intended to be conferred, upon the General Government the conferred of t conferred, and none was intended to be con-erred, upon the General Government, through Liberty! The moment the word is spoken, he that speaks it is at once transformed into an Abolitionist, "Liberty!" "Freedom!" of all words in our language, their utterance soonest puts a man in Coventry. One Senator believes that a man should be put in Coventry who makes use of these terms indiscreetly. Why is it thus? Sir, Liberty was the polar star that guided our fathers in the great struggle for independence If that word had been stricken from the calendar not a single man would have been found to face the British bayonets for a moment. It is in vin-dication of Liberty that I am here to-day. It is not less in jeopardy now than it was then. Aspirations for Liberty stimulated them, and enabled them to go through the dreadful struggles of the Revolution; but now, at this era, in the Senate of the United States, I am supposed to be an intermeddler in other men's business, not my own

unconstitutional test of office. I do not respect it, and I told you in the beginning that I never would. Lest he who occupies the Executive chair should make some great blunder, and not put into office a mere tool of this slave power, you inquire into what he has done; and if the smell of Liberty continent! On this ground I meet you; here the is on his garment, be it ever so faint or remote people of the free States meet you, and declare he is proscribed. He can no more receive an office at the hands of the Democratic party, than if he came from a penitentiary. The love of Lib-erty operates as a conviction for crime. It deprives him of the rights of an American citizen. He can hold no office of trust or profit under the United States, if he happens to believe that men are created equal, and have certain inalienabl rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This is the degeneracy to which your Democratic party has come. I am humiliated by it; I am put beyond the pale of office. There is not one of the majority in the other House, calling themselves Republicans, who were elected by an overwhelming majority of the free people of the United States, whose Representatives they are, who is not, under your Democratic rule, as effectually proscribed from receiving an office at the hands of the Democratic party as though he was the inmate of a penitentiary Why? Because he has undertaken to resist your attempt to make Slavery in these United States universal and perpetual forever. These are some of the reasons why I stand

here to inveigh against your institution. It has corrupted public men; it has overturned the Government. You have erected rules and principles utterly inconsistent with those of the fathers of the Republic. You know that I preach no more than the truth-nay, half the truth bas not been told on this subject. I desire to reason with men; and I ask my Democratic friends of the South, do you suppose, for one moment, that a proud people, jealous above all things of their ights, whose fathers perilled their lives to obtain those guarantees of Liberty which we are defending-I ask you in sober reason, divested of all acrimony, is it reasonable to suppose that are we to infer from that? By the slave power, it is entirely safe to drive that class of men to the wall? Do you expect that it will be safe to deny, over four fifths of the people of the South; which rules them with a rod of iron; which gags the and find that you have gone a step too far. The patience of our people, on this subject, has been If those venerated sires could look down on us to-day, they would reproach us for our patient submission for so long a time. He who went through every battle from Bunker Hill to York-town, would ask me, "Why is it that you have not stood forth before, as the bold advocate of hose rights which were bestowed upon you by broach me as an undutiful son, for having been too patient-yea, infinitely more patient than the

United States feel that they have been delinquent in not having risen before to assert their rights.

Will you be lured, by the recreant men who happen to slip in here against the wishes of their constituents by such accidents as frequently take whose veins flows the blood of the Revolution have really lost the spirit of their ancestors safe to disregard their rights? I ask you to pause. I tell you these men are not safe counellors. I know that you regard me as your enemy; and yet I am really your best friend, be-cause I stand here to advise you of the danger of being lured to destruction by men who seek their own advancement, caring nothing what may be-fall you. Like those who, in times gone by, have been the honest bearers of unwelcome intelli-gence, I know I shall be treated as your enemy; out still I will not shrink from the path of duty. I have said, Mr. President, that in 1852 the Com promise Measures were declared to be final and ternal; but two years did not pass away before an agitation took place in this country, notwith-standing your resolutions of Conventions and of the Senate, compared with which all others are as the idle wind. You had not ceased to sing the glories of the finality, which all pledged themselves to stand by forever, before you were tempted by false counsellors, who cared not for your interests, into measures utterly fatal to the great prin ciples of American Liberty. The act which caused this agitation was voted for by my friend from Kentucky-for I will call him my friend, because in past times he and I, though far apart, and not knowing each other, fought shoulder to shoulder with great zeal and perseverance in the great battle in which we were engaged for the success of the principles of the Whig party. I endeavored, in my humble way, with equal zeal with my friend from Kentucky, or any other man, to elevate the great statesman, Henry Clay, an honor to this or any other nation, to the highest station within the gift of the American people. I deplore our failure in that great battle; for if we had been successful, the sagacity, the wisdom, the patriotism, and sense of justice, of that great man, would have saved me the necessity of standing up now to advocate American Liberty. He himself would have vindicated it. He was not the man to preach that Slavery was a divine institution; but shortly before his death, among the last deeds of his life, though prompted by every consideration that could move a man in an opposite direction, he stood here pledging his word, that with his con-sent Slavery should never be extended one inch into free territory. Honor, eternal honor, sir, to

The gentleman from Kentucky told us yester day that he stood here as an advocate for the old Whig party. What an advocate! If Henry Clay should have heard him here. [Laughter.] He should go there and compete for the establish-still stands by the old Whig party! I do not wish to make use of any harsh expressions, and wrong in the North, that believed in Liberty, send-I am glad that I checked one which was on my tongue. He, an advocate of the Whig party, who went into council with the enemies of Henry Clay, with the old repudiators of his doctrines, to overthrow that law by which he plumed himself on having given harmony and peace to the Union!

Is this the way in which he asserts the great win. throw that law by which he plumed himsen on having given harmony and peace to the Union! Is this the way in which he asserts the great principles of the Whig party? I stood by the Whig ciples of the Whig party? I stood by the Whig ble of all objects; and next to make profit, as men wrote. dark councils of our enemies, and the enemies of our great statesman, Henry Clay, and came here declaim against and denounce those engaged in or with the halter of the hangman. Yet the South seem to suppose that they alone are loyal to the Constitution, and they talk of us as habitual violators of the Constitution. Thus will men be blinded by interest, passion, and prejudice!

My Southern friends, do I exaggerate anyloge anything more than is really below the suppose that they alone are loyal together to undo the work of peace and justice and right, which had been the pride of his life, they annihilated the Whig party. The Whigs of the South are now scattered as sheep having no shepherd. Having been trained under such a leader as Henry Clay, during the best part of their political lives, it was unnatural for them to be down and soul into the camp of the enemy; but I must say that I have never known a Southern man recreant to the principles by which he professed to be governed. If he is an advocate for Slavery, their political lives, it was unnatural for them to be be the principle by which he professed to be governed. If he is an advocate it boldly. I am here boldly to meet him on his arguments. But what he was of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments are shall we say of those who take up arguments for shall we say of those who take up arguments are shall we say of those who take up arguments are shall we say of those who take up arguments are shall we s and hence they are in a kind of political purga-tory to-day, dangling between heaven and hell, not knowing whether to join the Republicans or

which surrounded him, and stood forth, though on

the verge of the grave, to vindicate his manhood

annihilated, by the complicity of him and others who sought its destruction.

The Whigs of the South, as I have said, in an evil hour conspired with the enemy to overthrow the principles of the old Whig party. They leagued with the enemy to undo a measure which had been carried by Southern votes, and was regarded, at the time, as a sectional triumph over the Northern enemy. I have no doubt that, at the time when it was enacted, it was unjust, be-Now, sir, if the Aid Societies did wrong, punish he time when it was enacted, it was unjust, because Freedom and Liberty are much better than chains and Slavery, and ought not to receive the them; but has not the honest settler who is liv-

and Liberty on the same footing. Slavery is apt to take care of itself, and needs no help from legislation. It is the business of the just statesman to labor always for Liberty. In modern times, in this degenerate age of the Republic, it is argued, and even half conceded, on this floor, that Liberty and Slavery ought to receive the same meed of encouragement at the hands of Congress. It is a monstrous proposition, fit only for a despotism. it might probably be sustained in Russia and other despotisms. Sir, when the American peo-ple so far forget what is due to Republicanism, quality, justice, and right, as to say that Slavery s equally entitled with Freedom to encouragenent, then Liberty is no more. The principles of the fathers are overthrown, and there is nothing left worth preserving. But, sir, if Liberty was even permitted an equal chance with Slavery, I should not be compelled to speak to-day for Freedom. There is a vigor, a force, a power, in free institutions, which enable them to take care of themselves if you give them an equal chance. But every department of the Government is now wielded for the destruction of Liberty, and the advancement of Slavery and chains. This will not do; the principles of the Administration must and shall be reversed. Liberty shall yet be the

ussion by permitting gentlemen to put Slavery

favored child of this glorious Republic.
You repealed the Missouri Compromise. did you do it? Various reasons were assigned for the act on this floor at the time. All seemed, however, to concur in the opinion that it was a bare abstraction; that no practical result would grow out of it for the South; that Slavery could not go into Kansas, because the God of nature had not adapted the soil and climate to Slavery. That was the declaration made here at the time. I do not suppose that it deceived anybody—cer-tainly it did not deceive me—but some men just-ified their votes on this ground. They told the people that it was an act of justice to the South, to be attended with no practical consequences. We were told then, that in 1820 the South com-We were told then, that in 1820 the South committed an act of political suicide. For thirty-four years they never discovered it. During all that time, the South supposed they had achieved a triumph. In the thirty-fourth year, however, a prophet sprang up who made them acquainted with the fact that they themselves had done an act deeply injurious to the honor and interests of the South. When the act was accomplished, I said on this floor that the Whig party was oversaid on this floor that the Whig party was overthrown. I was told, however, that a great principle was asserted. The principle was, that the people of a Territory ought to have a perfect right to manage their own domestic institutions in their own way. To men who thought but little, such proposition seemed to be just. You were not ontent with the ordinary mode of legislation, but against all precedent you incorporated into the very body of your bill these jingling words, that "was not the intention of Congress to legislate Slavery into the Territory, nor to prohibit it from going there, but to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their dor

institutions in their own way, subject, however, to the Constitution of the United States." A more damning act of duplicity than this never characterized the legislation of any country n God's earth. I say boldly, it was a premeditated deception. It partially produced its result; but, thank God, the people now understand it. The doctrine that the inhabitants of a Territory should manage their own internal concerns in their own way, seemed very plausible. I know he labor which it cost to get this formula into the bill. I remember the various committals, and recommittals, and councils, and deliberations, which took place before the creed could be worded right. As one gentleman said, a stump-speech the body of an act the reasons for its passage? ever heard of making it express the motives of those who passed it? It was an extraordinary occurrence that called for such extraordinary legislation. It stamped this measure, in the first place, as something extremely important and unwhich it was done. It was hollow, false, hypo-critical; designed to deceive the people, who it was hoped would not understand it. Time, which tests all things, has brought to light what I did not know then, to confirm the opinion which I then entertained. I have no doubt, from the evidence which has since transpired, that at the very time when you were enacting a law declaring that the people of the Territory should do as they pleased on the subject of Slavery, a secret society was organized to carry Slavery into Kansas, without regard to what might be the wishes of the people. I say, the proof stands out in bold re-lief, and, though it does not trace a knowledge of the society to the members who voted for the bill, it shows that just about that time secret lodges, with secret oaths, and all the parapher-nalia of a secret society, for the deliberate pur-pose of carrying Slavery into that Territory, was formed in the State of Missouri, and also in other States; and before God I believe that it extended even to this city. If so, it still further marks the blackness and darkness that cover the transac-tions of those who, meditating the establishment put in the bill the principle that the people shall be left "perfectly free" to do as they pleased on

What adds to the enormity of the transaction is, that now, with this light before us, with a perfect knowledge that such a society existed, at all events, in Missouri, and extended to other States, and was actively propagating its princi-ples, and preparing for the onset, those who did this act turn round and charge all the difficulties in Kansas on the Emigrant Aid Society of Mas-sachusetts. This is the burden of the first and second reports of the Committee on Territories. It is the great staple of the speeches that have been made to justify the atrocities in Kansas. I do not deny that it was the intention of the free States to send free men to the Territory of Kansas. I remember well, that, when some gentleman was arguing against the Aid Society, the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Toomas] said that he saw nothing illegal in it. That declaration was, I think, incorporated into his speech. He agrees now, as all honorable men must agree, that it did nothing unlawful—nothing wrong; and yet the honorable Senator from Georgia has as much interest in premoting Slavery as any men made. interest in promoting Slavery as any man under heaven. Then, what will you say of the men from the North who dissent from him, and seek to put the odium of the occurrences in Kansas on the Aid Society, by the use of arguments which a Southern man, governed by the principles of honor, repudiates? You tell us that the Aid orable gentlemen from the South see nothing wrong in it; nor do you. It is a pretence, put

just competition? Did you not invite all men to go into the Territory, and there compete for the meed of Liberty? I regretted this, for it was not an equal bargain by any means, because we had already paid the full price of having Liberty there, without being subject to any contingency. Throw-ing that out of the way, trampling it under foot by a breach of faith, which would have justified war to the knife between separate and independent nations, and planting yourselves upon the principle that the different sections of the Union

ing on his claim the same rights with another ame meed of encouragement at the hands of the Mational Legislature. Much is lost in this dis-Are you going to hang him for treason? Are you going to hunt him out as you would a wolf, because he went on the boats or cars of the Aid Society, and thereby paid a less price than if he went there in any other way? If a man went there bound by a secret oath, taken beforehand, that he would corrupt the ballot-box—that he would force certain institutions upon the people and overthrow all that your bill promised, ther is not a word of disapprobation on your lips. leave the world, with the light of the evidence to judge between the secret oath-bound society under the command of the late Vice President Atchison, Stringfellow, and company, and the Massachusetts Aid Society, composed of men of peace—men who have never meddled with your institutions, but have only aided persons to get to Kansas more easily and more cheaply than they could have gone without such aid. I leave they could have gone without such and. From the the people to judge between the two. From the verdict of the Senate I appeal to the people. A great controversy is pending, which will decide whether Slavery is to be propagated by illegitimate means—whether Freedom, going into your Territories in innocence, is to be proscribed! That question is pending before the American people. To them I take an appeal from all your arguments and votes here, and I doubt not what

the result will be. But, sir, I have not yet done with your Kan Sas-Nebraska bill. I told you it was a fraud.
Can I prove it? We shall see. After saying that
you left the people entirely free to fix their domestic institutions in their own way, you had
great trouble in adding the words, "subject only
to the Constitution of the United States." What to the Constitution of the United States." What qualification, I ask the Senator from Illinois, did he understand to be made in legal effect by the addition of those words? I ask the Senator to answer me. Did he hold that the Constitution of the United States, by its own vigor, carried Slavery into the Territory, and rendered it legal for a slaveholder to take this species of property there? I again ask the Senator from Illinois there? I again ask the Senator from whether he understands that that was the case

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator from Ohio has been using such language, that I cannot go into a discussion with him. He has spoken of "fraud," and "premeditated fraud," in such manner that I perceive the object is to get up a controversy. I do not intend to have a controversy with him here to-day. Therefore he can go on and finish his speech. Mr. WADE. Well, sir, the Senator called

us, not a great while ago, to be explicit as to what our issue was. I have been explicit as to our issue. I have told you what the "Black Republicans," of whom I am one, are contending for. We intend, above all other things, that you shall not have another inch of territory any where for Slavery, and especially not Kansas, which you have attempted to steal. Now, when I call on the gentleman to be equally explicit, he says that I use intemperate language. Per-haps I do, for I am impelled by considerable zeal on this subject, because it has brought jeopardy on our country. It is enough to stir the blood of every man who has any love of country, to see how our liberties have been jeoparded by the late course of things. The Senator from Illinois refuses to tell me what he understood, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, was meant by the insertion of the most material clause in the Kansas-Nebraska bill. I know that many gentlemen from the South held that no legislation was wanted to enable them to take their slaves into the Territories. They held that the Constitution gives the right, without legislation The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. Brown] avowedly held that doctrine. That Senator, in a speech delivered not long since, said it was unfortunate that the law did not define particularly what was injected into the body of the bill, in order to sweeten it with the people. From Adam's time was the meaning of the language to which I sweeten it with the people. From Adam's time have alluded. I know why it was not done. You Council after council was held on these very words. Many Southern gentlemen said that Slavery was carried to the Territories by force of the Constitution; others held a different doctrine and you had to compromise by putting in the words, "subject only to the Constitution of the United States," which overthrew the previous clause about leaving the people perfectly free to form their own institutions. This specious language, calculated to tickle the ear of the people was entirely pullified and overthrown by ple, was entirely nullified and overthrown by The Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Brows,] in the speech to which I have referred, said:

"In passing the Kansas bill, Congress, in my opini-committed one error; and out of that error has gro-much of the confusion and discord which have ever sin-distracted the inhabitants of the Territory. It was in to repeal the Missouri restriction; but it was unwise leave the inhabitants of the Territory in doubt as to

measure, but a fast friend to it, but an honorable man, who will not shrink from giving me his views of the Constitution upon any matter connected with this great controversy. I have given his opinion. Then I am justified in saying that you failed to define what you meant on this most important of all subjects. You left in your dec-laration, as a trap to catch men who knew nothing of what you intended. I knew it. There was no Senator on the floor who did not understand perfectly well that that addition was obtained by great labor, pain, and deliberation, and in the minds of perhaps a majority here annulled to tickle the ears of the people. That stump speech, which, as Mr. Benton said, was injected nto the enacting clause of your law, was annulle by this other clause, which those who were no lawyers would not be likely to understand; and

how he understands it,
I knew by another indication what was the meaning of that. Nearly all of you went back on the stump and said, "Is it not right for the people of the Territory to frame their domestic institutions in their own way? Who can object to so reasonable a proposition as that? These Black Republicans, however, want to come in, and by some arbitrary rule override the will of the peo-ple in the Territories." And yet, you all knew attached to the very clause that you undertook to palm off on them. I shall not occupy time by reading from the Journals of the Senate, for I re-member what took place on that occasion. My then colleague, Mr. Chase, in order to test your veracity on that subject, and your good faith in that enactment, proposed to insert at the end of that clause this most reasonable proposition:

The votes of all the friends of the bill stand recorded on the Journals against that proviso; and yet you complain of me because I speak freely on yet you company of me occause? speak reery on this subject. You say the people were to be left perfectly free; and yet, when the test came, whether they should be free or not, you voted it down. This was like the apples of Sodom—fair to the look, but as you approach them, and at-tempt to taste them, they turn to bitterness and

is to deal with the unsophisticated people of the United States? You pretended that you had no power to legislate at all for the Territories; that non-intervention was to rule; and, again, Mr. Chase tested you by asking you to declare that the people should have the privilege of choosing their own Governor, judges, and other officers. their own Governor, judges, and other officers. He offered an amendment for that purpose, so as to test your real views on the subject of nonintervention; but you as promptly voted it down saying that they had no such right, but yet not abating one jot or one tittle of your stickling for what you call the rights of the people of the Territories, and the want of power in Congress to legislate for them.

Mr. President, the passage of that bill was an unfortunate hour for this Republic. I felt it then; and during that dark night I rose here, and told you that I feared the knell of our Republic was rung; that you had given it a wound under which it would languish, and finally die. God knows I fear now that my prediction will be verified, for all the evils which I then thought would arise out of this dangerous and unjust legislation have out of this dangerous and unjust legislation have come upon us. This Government has been legisalways, perhaps, in the wisest manner, but still so as to make every one, proud of the American name, eager to uphold the integrity of our insti-tutions; but now they have received a wound

the face of your specious legislation, which was to leave the people free to legislate as they pleased on the subject.

I wish to know whether there is any party, o my section, in the Senate of the United States, that can look with composure at the transactions now going on in Kansas. I ask every man, no matter from where he comes, if his blood does not boil as he contemplates the acts of lawless violence that are being committed there? Does any one suppose that these blows of civil war can be given by one side forever, and never be retaliated by the other? I know, sir, that the Northern people are patient, long-suffering, and very slow to anger; but if these things go on, the day will come when they will think that forbearance ceases to be a virtue. It is doubtful whether their quiet is not a shame to-day. What have the Free State settlers of Kansas done to justify the aggressions of those who are attempting to prop-

agate the institution of Slavery.

I ask my colleague, [Mr. Puga,] the advocate of Slavery, who stands here, turning his back coolly upon three fourths of the Legislature of his State putting them. his State, putting them at open defiance; who has never breathed here the name of Liberty; whose tongue has been employed, since he has had a seat on this floor, in nothing but the advo-cacy of abject Slavery; and who, with an industry worthy of a better cause, has hunted up and per verted, I will say, the musty records of the early history of this Government, in the vain hope that he could cull there something on which to hang an argument for eternal Slavery—I ask him, prejudiced as he must be, what have the Free tate people of Kansas done, that deserves robbery, and murder, and the burning of their towns? What have the free emigrants from Ohio done, that they should be hunted down like wild beasts in the prairies of Kansas? Have they raised their hands in ruthless violence agains the institutions of their country? He denounced them as traitors. Who have they betrayed? What law have they transgressed? have they done? Echo answers, What? They have gone there and taken up their claims for the honest purpose of settlement. There is not a single act of violence, or blood, or illegality, of

which they can be accused. I am amazed at the facility with which some nen follow in the wake of Slavery. Sometimes it leads me even to hesitate whether I am strictly correct in the idea that all men are born to equal rights, for their conduct seems to contravene this octrine. Sometimes I see in some men an ab-

be met in the prairies by five or six men, who, one of the most inoffensive men in the world, who went into the Territory in good faith, to seek an industrious and honest livelihood? For no other reason than that he held the principles which I hold—for no treasonable acts, but bare-y for the avowal that he loved Freedom better han Slavery-he was hewed in pieces by men who occupy important positions under this miserable Administration, who still retain their places, and who, I have no doubt, commended hemselves to the powers that be by the most deliberate murders.

I know, Mr. President, that this is a hard in-

dictment; but it can neither be doubted nor dedemands all our wisdom to extricate her. I speak we must understand them before we can apply a remedy. I believe, before high Heaven, that, in the history of all men who were ever intrusted with the welfare of mankind, the acts of none blacken the pages of history more than those of Franklin Pierce, the present President. The accusations which I have made here are beyond the reach of denial. The record is made up, and | the frame of mind which prevailed there. Govby that record he shall be tried. It will not do now to deny it. I impeach him of these crimes, and those who believe he is guilty of them, and still uphold him, are accessories after the fact. The Free State men of Kansas have done no

Freedom more than Slavery. You cannot escape by cries against the Aid Society; and yet here is a sophistry thrown into the report of the com-mittee and the speech of my colleague, that it is a wonderful thing that, while Kansas is groaning under all these evils, Nebraska is enjoying peace! The Senator from Kentucky, in his argument yesterday, thought it was a profound mystery how it happened that, although the first bill proposed to make but one Territory out of this great region, it was recommitted, and afterwards reported as a bill for two Territories. To one who did not look behind the curtain, that would seem to be a little strange. Why did not be a little strange. ing under all these evils, Nebraska is en seem to be a little strange. Why did you want two great Territories with scarcely a white man in them? In my judgment, when the first bill was reported, the idea was to make a slave State; but it was seen that the Territory was so large that it would receive a great population from the free States, and that it would not be as likely that your secret societies for propagating Slavery would be as successful in the whole of it as by would be as successful in the whole of it as by cutting it in two, and making sure of one at all events, and trusting to luck for the other. You cut it in two, and commenced proceedings to propagate Slavery in Kansas because it lay along-side of Missouri, and it was therefore easy to transport any number of Missourians there, to control the Territory. You thought you could make it a slave State much easier than you could the whole region at first called Nebrasks.

the whole region at first called Nebraska.

Why is it that there is no disturbance in the present Territory of Nebraska? Merely because your secret society to propagate Slavery by fraud and force has not been in operation in that Territory December 2019. ritory. Does any man suppose, for one moment, that the Southern States, intent upon making the Territories slave States, would willingly adopt the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, as preached by its Northern advocates? We know that they intend to bring Slavery into the Territories. Can it be supposed for a single moment, that it is possible, by the vote of the people, to make a slave State, left perfectly free to the emiligration from the North—a population of fourteen millions, to compete with a population of six millions? Southern emigration is not half as vigorous as that from the North to say nothing rigorous as that from the North, to say nothing of the emigration from abroad. Did any man for a moment believe that anything could be gained to Slavery by the faithful application of this principle? No, sir; they knew it well. Southern gentlemen do not contend for that kind of squatter sovereignty, but they put their faces like brass against if, knowing that, if carried out in its true spirit, it would deprive them of all new territory forever. Hence they raise their voices

this squatter sovereignty, those gentlemen turned round, and resorted to a miserable absurdity. They do not say, there is no such thing as popu lar sovereignty; but, if you consult the first re-port of the chairman of the Committee on Terri-tories, you will find that he talks of a sovereignty suspended in abeyance. Who ever heard of that before? I have heard of hears and woodchucks being suspended, and in abeyance, during the winter, but I did not know that it applied to sovereignty. I supposed that whoever possessed sovereignty could exercise jurisdiction, or else sovereignty could exercise jurisdiction, or else there was no sovereignty at all. What an idea to talk about sovereignty suspended in abeyance, held in trust by the Congress of the United States! It was a complete backing out; it was a repudiation of squatter sovereignty, at the bidding of those whose mandate some are accustomed to obey. I have not had time to examine this latter report of the Committee on Territories, but I doubt whether this doctrine is so much as named there. I do not say that it is not menas named there. I do not say that it is not men-tioned, for I have not read it. First, we were tioned, for I have not read it. First, we were told that the sovereignty was suspended in abeyance; then, the first bill of the committee was abandoned; and now another one is reported, tying up every loophole of discretion in the people of the Territory, not leaving them a single thing on which to legislate. I am inclined to suppose that even the doctrine of suspended sovereignty held in abeyance is dropped, and I do not think it will wake up in the spring. It has done its work, and it will be heard of no more. I hope the people will not be troubled any

State, and seemed to be very much in hopes that such would be the case; but they knew that it was not so, for no man, no State, resorts to force and fraud to accomplish that which can be ac-complished in a legitimate and proper way. The very fact that the people of Missouri crossed over the line in great numbers, with arms, with banners flying and drums beating, took possession of the polls, and drove away the inhabitants, shows conclusively that they knew, if the people were left to themselves, they would in a momen make Kansas a free State. Why all this expense and labor, and the commission of these egregious crimes, if the purpose could be effected without them? The fact is what every man would know to be the case, even without understanding the evidence; he would know that people emigrating from a section containing fourteen millions would outnumber those coming from a section of not more than six millions. If left to themselves, they would have excluded Slavery forever; and hence the power of the General Government must be invoked, and emigration must be fostered from the Southern States; even States must be appealed to, and men must be sent and paid for goingnot to settle on claims and become actual resi-dents; for if that was the object, I, who approve the conduct of the Aid Society, would not condemn any man for that. If any man from the North or the South has gone there for the purpose of making that Territory his bome, I have not one word to say against him. Let him go there; let him carry his principles with him; let him carry them out at the polls by his vote. If he is so blind to his own interests, and so forgetful of the rights of others, as to vote for Slavery, I shall deplore it; but I shall not raise my hand or my voice against him. It stands confessed that the Pro-Slavery men were outvoted; that the Free tate men were as three to one; that Missouri and all the slave States were conscious of it; that his miserable Executive was conscious of it; and

this miserable Executive was conscious of it; and hence fraud, force, and violence, were resorted to, in order to accomplish that which could not be accomplished in a legitimate way.

I could prove all that I have said in regard to the iniquities enacted in Kansas by the documents which were drawn reluctantly from the Executive department. I could sustain them by the statement of Governor Shannon himself. I shall not consume the time of the Sanata pow by reading from these documents, but they are "confirma-tions strong as proofs of Holy Writ" of every word I have said. To establish that truth, it is not even necessary to resort to that multitude of witnesses who have now come up to stare you in the face, and the people of the United States in the face, and to astonish them by the damning crimes which have been committed by persons from the State of Missouri, and by your Execu-

I have here Governor Shannon's letter, but it

has been read so often that I shall not again read jectness, a want of that manly independence which enables a man to rely on himself and face the world on his own principles, that I do not know but that I am wrong in advocating Universal Liberty. I wish to Heaven all such were of effect that he had heard it stated, and believed it to be true that a man named Branson had threatthe African race.

I ask again, Why are these men denounced as traitors? What have the immigrants from Ohio done to demand the fate which has been visited more than the bare statement of its having been denounced as traitors? on them? What had Brown done, that he should issued. This was the foundation of these proceedings. Officers were sent to arrest Brans with a barbarity worse than that of the savage, this peace warrant—the lowest grade of all judi-hewed him in pieces, and, whilst dying from his cial proceedings for the purpose of holding a man ghastly wounds, threw him into the presence of his wife, to distract her, dethrone her reason, and turn her out upon the world a raving maniac?

What had Barber done—a man who went from mighty matter upon which to hang the revolution What had Barber done—a man who went from Preble county, nearer my colleague's home than mine, who is certified to by all his neighbors as voked the troops to help his officers, because they could not take Branson. Many an offender has run away from one State to another, without causing revolution. These matters are regarded as of very little consequence, for they are founded on the loosest of all affidavits. It was evident that the object was not to take Branson; but Governor Shannon telegraphed to the President that Lawrence was in arms, and that he wanted troops t put them down. About ten days afterwards alone and unattended, he ventured into the camp of these rebels. He did not take the precautio to have even a file of men with him, which shows that Governor Shannon knew in his heart that there was no danger, no rebellion. No man would

tended, if they were in the state of notorious and flagrant rebellion of which he had spoken. When Governor Shannon went to Lawrence, what did he find? He says they told him they were a peaceable people; had not secreted any-body, and did not intend to do so. He says that he believed all they said, and that he had nothing against them. Now, there is one circumstance which it is necessary to consider, in order to show ernor Shannon says that the people of Lawrence were guilty of nothing, but that he had great trouble to get away the troops, who were people from Missouri that had gathered together to besiege Lawrence. This circumstance should be borne in mind, because the men of Lawrence are accused of flagrant treasons. Governor Shannon says that the people of Lawrence were all right, and that the difficulty was to get his troops to disband, without robbing and pillaging the town. I will read what he says about his men at Law rence, as it is the clew to what has since hap

Mark that, Mr. President; notice the confidence which Shannon had in those people. Not only were they innocent of any offence, but he stipu-lated with them to be the conservators of the peace. He said these very rebels whom he went there to punish should be enrolled to keep the peace throughout the Territory. He then goes

"The assurances I received entirely satisfied me that no one against whom a writ had issued was then in Lawrence; that they had all fied, and that they were harhoring, concealing, or defending, no one against whom a writ had been issued, and that hareafer there would be no combined eliori made to prevent the service of any process in the county of Douglas. This was entirely satisfactory, and all that had been desired. But to satisfy the forces that surrounded Lawrence, so that they could be induced to retire in order, was the great difficulty to be overcome. To issue an order to the sheriff to disband his pass, and to Generals Richardson and Strigklar's obstand their forces, would have been to let loose this large body of men, who would have been left without control to follow the impulse of their feelings, which evidently was to attack and disarm the people of Lawrence."

That is it, sir: there was no trouble with these

That is it, sir; there was no trouble with these rebell; all they did was right. The only trouble was to get rid of the so-called law and order men who had assembled to keep the peace. The Governor goes on to tell us that he visited their camp, and found them sullen and revengeful. He found that they meditated an attack on Lawrence at all hazards. He told them that there was a mistake; that the people of Lawrence were guilty of nothing; that they were innocent men, observant of the rights of others; but notwithstanding all this, he had great difficulty to get rid of the law and order men who had gone into the Territory to keep the peace in Lawrence. In this connection, I will ask the Secretary to read a few lines from the speech of the Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Burusa.] for I wish to have it understood BUTLER,] for I wish to have it understood what kind of law and order people these me were.

The Secretary read the following extract from

Mr. Butler's speech of March 5: "There never was a better illustration of his char

Mr. WADE. I call the attention of the S to this, for it is pregnant with the most fatal inferences to the integrity of that posse of troops. The Senator from South Carolina, in endeavorhas passed sentence on that army who surrounded Lawrence, and called themselves law and order men, which puts in unmistakable colors the savage atrocity that characterized those harbarians. Why, sir, there is not an Indian tribe on the continent of America, that would threaten in time of war to do the deeds against any settlement which were threatened by these men sur-

be a majority of men there to make it a slave with the blood of the inhabitants of Lawrence: and it was all their leader could do to restrain them from this. Why, in the name of all that is them from this. Way, in the name of all that is sacred, this infernal revenge against the inno-cent people of Lawrence! Had not the Governor of the Territory just told these troops that he had been in Lawrence, and found nothing against the people there—that he was perfectly satisfied with them? But this had no effect whatever to mitigate the infernal atrocity which seemed to actuate those hell-hounds who surrounded that city. They wanted, still, to burn the place-to drench the streets in the blood of the innocent men, women, and children, of the town; and he tells us, in this letter, that when they were induced to leave, they left murmuring and threatenin that they would return again.

I had hoped, sir, for the honor of human nature, as well as for the peace of the country, that this threat would never be attempted to be put in execution; but, alas! it has proved too true. These monsters in human shape, who had gone there, breathed nothing but revenge for fancied injuries, when they had received none—wishing to wash their hands in the innocent blood of to wash their hands in the innocent blood of strangers who had done them no harm—retired reluctantly, murmuring and threatening that, at some future time, they would have their revenge. Too well, aided by this accursed Administration, have they kept their word, and sacked and burned Lawrence. Flying men, women, and children, can attest how faithful they were to the nefarious threat they gave out. They gave the Administration notice of what they intended. Three months before, we had on our tables these documents, accompanied by all this proof. The people besought the Executive to interpose the strong arm of the General Government, to save their wives and children from destruction, but he turned coldly upon them. The South sent men there, armed—not emigrants, with an honest pur-pose of settlement, but apparently for no other purpose than to fight the sectional battles of Missouri against the rights of the settlers. When these things were done, you find the Executive of this Government mustering into service, as constables and magistrates, and arming with Government arms, this crew from the South, to let loose upon the devoted inhabitants. Robbery, murder, rape, arson—all these crimes stain the garments of this Administration. The blood of my countrymen is on their skirts. I say it fearlessly. I know it is a high impeachment that I make against the President; but it is true, and it will stare him in the face on the last day It is true, that the Executive arm of the Government was used to prostrate innocent men, women and children, in the Territory of Kansas—to burn, rob, and destroy, the American citizen despoil him of his rights, and drive him from his settlement. All the noted men who in this extremity asserted their manhood, and interposed courageously between the defenceless people and those who sought their destruction, have driven and hunted out of the Territory, as though they were wild beasts. Many of them are in prison, under mock process of law, to wait a

mock trial, and perhaps yield up their lives a sac-rifice on the altar of Liberty. This is faintly the condition to which you have brought the country. In four short years, this prosperous Republic—the pride and glory of the world—has come down to robbery, rape, arson, and murder of its own citizens! Does any man suppose that the people of the North will rest quietly under this? Gentlemen of the South, do you suppose that you are going to force Slavery into Kansas? You have some reason to think we are all cowards-I know we have given you too much reason to believe so—but you will find, after all, that there is a remnant of the blood of Bunker Hill yet running in the veins of North ern men. When driven to the wall, they will rise in behalf of their slaughtered kinsmen, and prevent those who have committed these deeds of atrocity from taking the benefit of their nefarious acts. I say it not by way of threat, but in vindication of that section to which I belong. You have driven us to the wall; not to turn would be dishonor, shame, slavery, and death. You have forced the issue upon us. We must turn and resist these aggressions, or lie down and be willing slaves.

Now, Mr. President, I have a few words to say about the pretended Legislature of Kansas. My colleague spoke about a great many technical principles. He spoke about Governments de facto office, and exercised it, his acts could not be traversed collaterally. Very well. Every justice of enough for the mere lawyer, but it is a sorry argument for the statesman. The Legislature were in office, and Governor Reeder certified to the election of some of them, and now American Lib-erty must be trampled under foot, in the face of the whole world, because there is a certiorari principle in the way. What a bold advocate for American Freedom, to be hemmed in by the chalk line of a certiorari! A great, notorious statesman, on whom the world can depend to vindicate their Liberty, cloven down and sought to be reinstated, tells them that he who is doing it has the certificate of a man calling himself the Governor; and, although you know it to be a usurp-ation, he is an officer de facto, at all events, and you must lie down under him! Thank God, the evidence at this time does not leave any doubt The executive officers themselves have furnished is enough to show that no freeman on God's earth who intends to be such, would lie down unde laws made by such a tribunal as the documents

show that Legislature to have been. My colleague and the Senator from Illinois took much time to show that at all events the majority of the Legislature had not been impeached by evidence of fraud; and although it is as plain as the noonday sun, that this quorum turned out all those legally elected, and put in their old re-pudiated associates without color of right, a certiorari principle came in, and Liberty must be trampled under foot! The documents furnished by the Executive show that bands of armed men came from Missouri, in military array, with drums not less than seven election districts, and drov off the lawful judges of election. In one instance, they gave the judges five minutes to make up their minds whether they would die at the polls, or leave them in the hands of the foreignlamented Jones, who, by the way, was never shot,

The proof taken by the committee of the House of Representatives I understand to be perfectly overwhelming to rob you even of the miserable vertiorari principle. It shows that two-thirds of all those who voted for the Legislature stole in all those who voted for the Legislature stole in there by force, to rob American citizens of their God-given right to the ballot-box. Here stand the chiefs of the Democracy, saying that freemen are bound to submit to the doings of those who have usurped authority, who have driven them from the polls, and are ready to do the voting for them. This is said to be a great Democratio principle. I tell you Mr. President that whenprinciple. I tell you, Mr. President, that when-ever the American people come to the conclusion that they will patiently endure to be governed by laws made for them by force and fraud, they will not only be slaves, but they ought to be slaves, and God Almighty made them for slaves, as he and God Aimgnty made them for states, as the did all those who are apologists for such acts. It is a Democratic principle to require the people to abide by the legislation imposed on them by a Legislature elected by the inhabitants of a neighboring State, stealing in there under the orders of a secret society, to prevent the real settlers from voting, by fraud, by force, and by terror!

Now, sir, what was the character of the legis-lation? It was of the same bastard description with the Legislature itself. It was a disgrace to American citizens; a series of laws unknown to the history of American legislation. I know that the Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. Jonns.] in a speech made by him at an early period of the session, said that the laws in Kansas, on the speech made by him at an early period of the session, said that the laws in Kansas, on the subject of Slavery, were not half severe enough; that where they punished with the penitentiary, he would promptly punish with death. He proclaimed that there was not a State in the Union which had not just such laws. I do not think he has studied the legislation of the country out of Tennessee, or even in it. I do not know what are the laws of Tennessee, and I do not know but that such legislation prevails in the Southern States generally, for I have not looked to ascertain; but I will not believe, until I am compelled by the inspection of the records to believe, that American citizens anywhere succumb to such miserable legislation as that. One law punishes a man with long imprisonment for taking into the Territory any book, document, writing, or paper, containing any statement, fact, or argument, calculated to stir up the slaves to insurrection. My colleague thought that was a pretty good kind of legislation; or, at all events, that it was that kind which they were obliged to make use of in slave States, and would be good enough for that reason. As he is an advocate for making that reason. As he is an advocate for making Kansas a slave State, he is an advocate for this kind of law. The Senator from Tennessee supposes that such laws exist in the State of Ohio! Why, good heavens! there is not a boy in the streets who would not contravene such a provision, and come within the penalties thirty times a day. In Ohio, the speech and the press are as free as the winds that blow across our fields. No man stands there to measure his words. If he

to five years' imprisonment at least in the tentiary. This is necessary, says my colle in slave countries. That necessity shows of thing, which, under the providence of God, true—that either all must be slaves, or none. grant you, that if you have an institution odious to human reason, so tyrannical, the will not bear the light of day, you must guare by a cautious silence—the silence of the gra must surround it. All despotisms have been ve sedulous in guarding the press, and in guardi the words of their subjects. Why? Because is known their absurd doctrines will not bear light for a moment.

For this reason, I have proclaimed that the

no more freedom, in the Southern States, for white man than for the slave. He cannot say w he wishes to say; he cannot preach what would; or he must be liable to these penalt What institution did the Senator from Tenness suppose we had in Ohio, that we must guard it we this flaming sword? He must be utterly obl ious of the institutions of my noble State. light, instead of admitting this kind of guardia ship, it would be assailed by every tongue in the State, and demolished at once. We raise no go like these for our worship, nor expose to penaltic. those who will not fall down on their knees h fore them. No, sir, we have no such laws the man who thinks they are neces ceased to appreciate the real feelings of man. Why, sir, you cannot take the Declar of Independence into Kansas, without bein noxions to the enactment to which I have luded: for what document would be more to stir up the blood of servitude than the glorious old Declaration? Let it ring in the of the slave, that all men, he inclu created equal, and have certain inslienable given by God, which cannot be transg without high crime and wrong; and where you find a document so well calculated to man within the penalties of this law? There is another one, of like import, the man shall, by word or writing, say that have not the right to bring slaves into the ritory, without liability of imprisonment. inspected that law; and, bad as it is, Heaven, as a lawyer, I declare, that I believe there is any color of right for a me going into the Territory with a slave. For sa ing this in Kansas, which I can say here w impunity, I should receive two years in the pe entiary, and as much more as your be judges there might choose to give. This law sustained by your chieftains of Democracy, lea-ers in Israel. Is this Democracy?

ects. I am exceedingly sorry that, with a knowledge of the views of three fourths of people of Ohio, whom he represents, whose ereignty he stands here to defend, he she think it to be his duty to go directly in the te of the instructions given by the Legislatur They believed they had the right to instruct his when they were sustained by an overwhelmin majority of the people. However that may be it is a matter which must be left to himself; after all, a man's judgment must be his guide. can find no fault with it; but I regret that should happen, because I am too much of Democrat to believe that a man, with a deliber ate knowledge of what is required at his hand by his constituents, who have thus given his pecific instructions, would turn round, and, in stead of obeying their behests, ridicule them is what they have done. This seems to me to b contrary to all the wholesome principles of re resentative government. I leave my colleagu with his constituents. I am sorry that, at oting against their instructions, he should tempt to ridicule the arguments made use of the resolutions by which they instructed his At one time, I thought of taking up those resolu tions and the argument which he made, and a submit some remarks in justification of the menbers of the Ohio Legislature. I thought of un winding it here, as I have done in my on mind, on the investigations I have made of the I find, I must say, an almost total misapprehen sion, and, in some instances, total and complete by my colleague, of the authorities which be hereafter, I may perhaps encounter the gentle-man on some portions of his speech, where le

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate

onger than I intended. I am sorry to be con

pelled to differ from my colleague on these st

but I am not pregue a now with the necessary documents to do it. I shall detain the Senate, Mr. President, but a moment longer. I have spoken, as I siwaspeak, with some considerable degree of warmth and feeling; because, in my judgment, no man ever spoke on this floor under circumstance more important than those by which we are surrounded. I think now is the time for us to divest ourselves, as far as possible, of all preju-dices; and, in this hour of our country's undoubted peril, we should endeavor, if possible not to criminate or recriminate, but calmiy the Republic, and bring on us a premature di

has traversed the instructions of the Legislature

Mr. President, I have but a few words to se in relation to the bill last reported from the Committee on Territories. It involves a total surrender of the principles of the first bill. It seen to admit, impliedly, the spurious character of the Kansas Legislature. It no longer insists the there must be inhabitants enough in the Terr tory for a Representative in Congress, before can be admitted as a State. It also seems to have totally repudiated the principle of squatter sove

But my objection to it is twofold. It propo to begin immediately to organize the Territor, under all the disadvantages consequent upon the late acts of violence there. In the first place, we have seen that the Free State population have been conquered and subdued by the Border Ruffians, aided by the Federal Executive. The have been plundered of their property; their houses burned; and many of them have been nurdered; and all disarmed; the leading men in prison, under false charges, or driven from the Perritory. Therefore, to take the census now and get up a convention, would be only carrying out the plan of those who have conspired to make that Territory a slave State. And even now conquered and disheartened as the Free State men are, even if an honest attempt were made. under such circumstances, to get up a conver tion, it would result in a triumph of the conque ors; and I fear that a knowledge of this has led to this change of policy on the part of the

But the bill puts the whole power of organi zing the Territory into the hands of five commissioners, to be appointed by the President. That is enough for me to know. No one doubts that the President would appoint Atchison, Stringfellow, and their associates, or men of the san principles. At all events, no man who has the least regard for the rights or dignity of the free States at heart, will consent to put Liberty under the guardianship of our present President. would be to make Kansas a slave State without a struggle, and to give the robbers, plunderers, and conquerors of Kansas, the full benefit of the war they have so unjustly waged against the rights of Freedom. For one, I will never submit the fate of Kansas to a contingency. She must be a free State. Before they were conin fair convention, and made a free Constitution. It was the fair expression of the will of the people, by a vast majority, and under it Kansas should be admitted as a free State into the Union; and nothig less than this should satisfy the people of Kansas or the free States.

And no reason exists now why all should n vote for their admission. The old plea was, that there were not a sufficient number of inhabitants This is now given up. In short, this last bill of the committee will surrender the Territory, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the slaveholders give the Border Ruffians the benefit of their crimes, and certainly make a slave State of Kan sas. I, for one, will never submit to it; let the Territory rather go back into the hands of the savages. I shall therefore vote against this bill, and in favor of the Constitution. It can be admitted in an hour, as a free State, and then all will be peace; or the Territory may be kept in state of turmoil, bloodshed, and civil war, for time longer, in the vain hope that it will yet be made a slave State. Mr. President, I hope that the effectual and peaceable remedy will prevail.

each man his powers, duties, and relations; how to make the most of himself, and thus secure the highest ment and physical well-being.

Practical Phrenology, or how to read Character, Selmprovement, Home Education, Government, Selectic of Pursuits, Choice of Apprentices, Clerks, Partners Business, or Companious for Life, will be clearly sforth. Biography, with Portraits. Mechanism, Agricuture, and Horticulture, with Engravings, will make it Journal an interesting and valuable family guide an ompanion to all readers.

Published monthly, in form for binding, at \$1 a year